1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

ments of the Krĩkatí and Pụkóbye were of the same order; of these, Canto da Aldea had eight huts, São Felix thirteen, and Recurso eleven. These dwellings were either quite open or had a single wall in the rear, whose palm leaves were attached in vertical position, with the points downward. This mode of attachment is characteristic of the aboriginal Eastern Timbira, the method now customary among the Rąmkõ'kamekra (p. 40), having been adopted from the Neobrazilians according to the Indians' own statements. The smallest and poorest huts I have seen are those in Recurso.

The Kre'pụ'mkateye settlement of Gamelleira do Rumo is situated in the woods, on the steep left bank, 50 m. in height, of the Rio Grajahú. It comprises eight rather small huts, most of them having walls of clay-daubed latticework; they surround an approximately round plaza of barely 50 m. in diameter.

Sleeping and sitting accommodations.—The principal article of furniture is the platform bed (pą'ra), a grid of closely laid burity leaf stalks resting on four forked posts with two crossbeams. Its ordinary elevation above the floor is about 50 cm., the length from 170 to 200 cm., and the width varies according to the number of occupants—from half a meter for a single person to 3 m. for a sizable family. If the house has a closed space, the beds—one for each individual family—are always indoors. A young girl generally constructs her platform bed below the roof at a height of 2 m., and surrounds it with a partition of mats; for a ladder she uses a notched log or simply a pole tied in slanting position. The boys and young men as a rule sleep in the plaza outdoors, but several of them may sleep on a platform bed indoors. This is, however, merely a makeshift in case of rain.

A larger or smaller number of mats lie on the bed, which when properly made has a bottom layer of one or two mats of babassu or anajá grass (kupíp) to level the unevenness of the surface, with mats of burity bast (ka'tụ') above. The former are long, but relatively narrow and always in a two-step twilling technique; the latter of any desired width (up to 120 cm.), but at most 1 m. in length, to which must be added a 30 to 40 cm. fringe. Some of the Indians make burity mats de luxe by plaiting into the fabric ornamental horizontal or vertical stripes or squares and painting them with yellow dots, strokes, and zigzags, the pigment being derived from the root of the urucú shrub. The burity mats do service as a covering, but the feet remain bare, being always kept warm at night by a fire maintained at the foot of the bed.

However, the mat-covered platform beds also serve as benches and tables; indeed, a large part of domestic life is spent on them. Many take their meals there, some permit pet dogs to find a resting place on the bed. In consequence the mats are usually greasy and brownish-red from urucú and dirt. When they have turned filthy, they are washed in a stream with the leaves of a shrub that yield a soaplike lather. On the other hand, the anajá and babassu grass mats, which can be quickly manufactured, are never washed, but simply superseded by new ones.

On fine nights many families are accustomed to sleep for several hours on mats on the ground directly in front of their houses. After sunset the people like to sit on mats outdoors and thus simply remain lying there, falling asleep, even without a fire, until the chill of the morning drives them inside.

Indoors the Canella mostly seat themselves on the bed or, if it should be present, on a hammock. However, there are also, though rather rarely, curved little stools (mekričą) from the spathe of the anajá (avarprẽp), especially among the Krĩkatí and Pụkópye. Outdoors one likes to seat oneself on mats, women also using for this purpose fire fans (pl. 12, *a*); and in the woods a bunch of leaves is torn off and

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used to sit on. In the plaza it is common to sit or lie on the bare ground, though some regularly bring along a mat to rest on, others making a flat club into a little bench. But beams as seats placed at the periphery of the plaza I saw only among the Kre'pų'mkateye.

The platform bed is universal among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, Apą'nyekra, and Krahõ', but Snethlage misunderstands Silva e Souza when citing him to support its use among the Southern Kayapó. That author merely reports "arranchamentos com 400 camas," which last word may designate a sleeping facility on the ground as well as on furniture. Snethlage also misquotes me on the subject of hammocks; these are not in vogue among the Krĩkatí, who sleep on mats on the ground and are covered with mats, which partly holds also for the Pųkóbye.[110] He rightly ascribes hammocks to the Kre'pų'mkateye—the only Timbira among whom a number of persons regularly sleep in hammocks. The Krĩkatí, Pųkóbye, and Rąmkõ'kamekra do own a fair number of these contrivances, but exclusively for resting in the daytime, and nearly all of them have been obtained in barter from the near-by Guajajára. The hammocks found among the Krĩkatí and Pųkóbye all come from the quite isolated hamlet of Urucú; the Kre'pų'mkateye obtain theirs from the Guajajára farther up the Grajahú; and the Rąmkõ'kamekra from the settlements of the same tribe beyond the Rio Corda. The last-mentioned Timbira have also obtained some Neobrazilian specimens on their begging trips to state capitals.

In any case, to date the Timbira have never manufactured a single cotton hammock. On the other hand, in their temporary camps they will take but a few minutes to complete a hammock quite serviceable for a few days by interlacing the tips of two burity leaflets. The ropes for suspending this type of hammock are made of the stalks of the two leaves when worn down to a thin strip. Occasionally such hammocks may be seen even in permanent villages, especially among the Krahõ'. Among the Apą'nyekra, Snethlage saw a hammock for little children that had been knotted together from a few bast threads. I noted a rather large sample of this type among the Rąmkõ'kamekra; it consisted of ropes made of the black bark of a *philodendron* species. It was not in the Guajajára twined technique, but rather conformed to that of Timbira scoop nets (pl. 17, *c*), though wider-meshed. The Šerénte rather frequently fasten such hammocks to the branches of trees for hunting from ambush; accordingly, there is no reason to think of diffusion from the Tupí.

Storage.—In two or three Ponto houses there was in one corner an attic with a flooring of poles. It was partitioned off with thatched walls, provided with a small door, and made accessible by a notched tree. This chamber serves for the storage of provisions and of valuables; it is due to Neobrazilian influence. Not a single Timbira tribe has scaffolds for the stowing away of utensils. Except for the attics just described, such objects are thrust into the roof or wall thatch; stuck under the beds; or, in the case of small articles, most commonly suspended in bags and baskets, such as are always available in considerable numbers. For this purpose the house posts are frequently allowed to keep a projecting limb, and the same end is served by the cords that sometimes hang down from the rafters. However, there are no specially designed hooks or crossbeams for suspension.

Fire.—The fireplaces, fixed appurtenances of the dwellings, fall into three categories. First, there is the small fire kept going in the night at the foot of the beds; in the daytime it is not used except possibly for some technological task. Secondly, there is the fireplace with its hearthstones for boiling food; this often coincides with the foregoing,[111] but otherwise is likely to be placed in the unenclosed space

[110] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 155, 116.

[111] This seems contradictory to the preceding statement. *Editor.*

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in front of the house. This is an innovation, for originally boiling was unknown to any of the Timbira, who probably cooked on the spit or in the ashes at the fires by their camp sites. Borrowed from the Neobrazilians along with the cooking pots, these fireplaces are always under the roof. Finally, there is the earth oven (kíyačą), invariably, whether in the village or in an encampment, several meters behind the dwelling and toward the open steppe except for certain special ceremonies, when it must be constructed in front of the houses, at the inner margin of the boulevard. When not in use, the oven appears as an ugly hodge-podge of rocks, dug-up earth, charred logs, leaves, and old mats. It is common to all Timbira tribes.

The fireplaces of the age classes in the plaza do not serve for the preparation of food.

If a fire should go out nowadays and there is no neighbor from whom one could borrow a brand, the Indians strike fire with the Neobrazilian strike-a-light consisting of the tip of a cow horn, steel, and flint, with charred cotton for tinder. However, everybody is still familiar with the old drill (rą'ra) composed of two urucú staves. The drill itself is about ½-m. long, somewhat less than a finger's breadth, and terminates in a blunt point. The hearth is about of the same length and somewhat thicker. The pit of the hearth has a lateral groove, which, however, is sometimes lacking. (Fig. 2.) The driller sits down and presses the hearth against the ground with his feet (pl. 5, *c*). On trips to the plantations or to catch fish in the brook at night it is customary to take along firebrands.

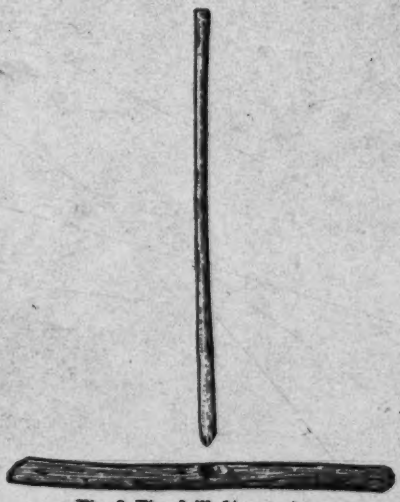

Fig. 2. Fire drill. ⅛ nat. size.

For blowing the fire into a flame the Indians use a fire fan (kapẽ'rčą), that is, a quadrangular or hexagonal little mat of babassu, anajá, or bacaba palm grass (pl. 12, *a*). Occasionally it may also serve as a seat, for shoveling away offal, or for covering a pot.

It is the women's duty to fetch firewood, and usually one will invite another to join her. But should there be a large, dry log that is too heavy, a man will often do the carrying.

The origin of fire is explained in a myth which I have recorded with only minor variations among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, Krẽyé of Bacabal, Apinayé, and Šerénte.[139]

Special structures.—Apart from ceremonial huts, which are always removed after the festive season, I observed the following structures in Ponto. Somewhat behind and on one side of the house inhabited by the widowed chief Kukrãčą' and his kinswomen there stood under a roof (fornyũkwa; from Portuguese *forno*, roasting pan) a huge copper roasting pan for the preparation of manioc flour; it rested on four wooden legs driven into the ground. The chief had received it as a gift from an Indian friend some twenty-five years ago. It was used by all the villagers, who in return gave the chief some of the flour they prepared. In Pedra

[139] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 154 *et seq.*, 1939.

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765 152

deceased than she quite suddenly falls to blubbering rhythmically for several minutes. Such lamentation is indispensable if some tribesman arrives whom the mourner has not seen since her loss or who has been away for some time. In the latter case—as whenever I myself return—another idea coöperates: sympathy with the homecoming traveler, who is supposed to have been exposed to all manner of privations, maltreatment, and dangers during his absence. He seats himself on the mat as described above, his kinswomen lay their heads or arms against his shoulder and bawl in the way indicated, actually shedding tears, and some of them working themselves into a profound state of excitement. On one occasion a mother gave vent to sentiments of despondent grief when she caught sight of a feather ornament given me by her daughter, who had died during my absence.

During major festivals lamentations of this sort are always to be heard emanating from some house or other: The inmates remember some dead relative who would have played a part in the present proceedings if still alive or recall a child on whom the role should have devolved. At major log races I have several times seen some age class throw down the log and then at once trot over to the maternal home of their deceased champion runner in order to join his relatives in bewailing him.

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 178

As superficial observers are wont to do, Fróes Abreu alleges that Rąmkõ'kamekra men lead a life of idleness while women labor.[209] As stated in the relevant sections, all hard work—the clearing of woods, hunting, war—devolves solely on the men, who moreover take part in a series of supplementary activities. It is true that the development of agriculture, the recession of the chase, and the elimination of war have increased feminine work and diminished masculine obligations. On the other hand, women hardly gather wild fruits any more and the construction of more substantial houses, along with the rise of a by no means insignificant home industry, has added to masculine labor. Abreu declares that the women manufacture baskets and mats (p. 180), yet pictures a matmaking man (p. 58)! His statement holds only for certain special types of basketry; others and also mats, the most important article for trade, are never made by women. Burity mats, large, rectangular food bags and lidded suspension pouches are for the most part of Rąmkõ'kamekra, in small measure of Apą'nyekra, provenience. They are found in pretty nearly all houses of the central interior of Maranhão and especially in the shops of Barra do Cordo. This industry fails to develop more rapidly for the solitary reason that all trading between the Rąmkõ'kamekra and the whites is aimed at mutual cheating.

[114]

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The most one can say is that as the children's caretaker and the sole laborer at domestic chores woman is more constantly employed than man. In any case she is far too independent by virtue of her social status to turn into an idle husband's beast of labor.

DIVORCE

586 [733]

Only a few reasons warrant the rupture of marriage with a virgin—barrenness, grave maltreatment, and adultery. As for the first-mentioned ground, I know of only one case, and even there I gained the impression that the wife's sterility was a pretext rather than the real reason. Excessive abuse of a woman led to divorce in a few instances, all of them the result of alcoholism. Adultery on either side is the commonest reason, though, as among the Apinayé, many spouses are willing to overlook a mate's straying from the narrow path. However, Abreu exaggerates beyond all reason in alleging that "as Canellos desconhecem a fidelidade conjugal"

[209] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 179.

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X796 527 881

before his house of seclusion. The hąpín faced the plaza in one line abreast, held their clubs horizontally in front of their bodies, and joined the ends of the clubs so as to form a single pole, which they raised and lowered while dancing. In the meantime the pinčwę'i indulged in their customary mischief before the house. The catcher, accompanied by his pinčwę'i, who from time to time splashed him with water from a gourd bottle, trotted along a radial path from the seclusion house to the dancers in the plaza, halted before them for a moment while rubbing together the palms of his hands, and returned to the house. Soon the two age classes slowly started toward the house. The catcher constantly trotted back and forth in the manner described between them and the house of internment until they reached its door. The hąpín allowed access to the two groups, which entered and, singing, took positions to the right and left of the door, facing the cell. Now the novice's maternal uncle stepped forth and three times uttered a very loud, piercing yell. Forthwith the eastern leader's face appeared at a tiny window, hitherto closed with a mat on the inside, and immediately disappeared again behind the mat; the window had been specially left for this purpose in the front wall of the cell. The age classes then returned to the plaza, but the hąpín and pinčwę'i of the novices' western class leader ran along the boulevard to his seclusion house, where the same ceremony was repeated. Then the two leaders' kinswomen put food outside the officers' houses of seclusion, and the leaders' hąpín and pinčwę'i distributed it among themselves.

Four days later, on May 27, at the same hour, the wakõ'kama class assembled in the plaza. They sat down in two lines facing the seclusion house of the eastern leader. The latter's uncle, who is also the commandant of the wakõ'kama, and a hornblower sat in the rear, the class leader, Yóro, and a precentor with a rattle (pl. 32, *b*, *c*) were seated in the front row, while the catcher went from house to house, uttering his hinkõ call, whereupon he led them to the eastern leader's seclusion house in the manner followed at the first inspection. However, this time they halted before the house; only the uncle entered and three times uttered the piercing yell. At once the grass of the front wall of the cell opened, rendering visible the leader's entire figure. The catcher approached, seized him by the hair, and pulled him out, whereupon two of his hąpín seized him by his right and left arm, respectively, and led him near the house door, whence he hurried back into his cell. After the wakõ'kama had returned to the plaza, the western leader was inspected with similar ceremony.

Procession with mats; ablutions.—Shortly before sunset the eastern leader left his seclusion house. On the path along the rear of the dwellings he walked west and south around the village, carrying only a flat club under his arm. Ahead of him walked Yóro (the wakõ'kama leader), holding the ceremonial pepyé lance (pl. 31, *c*, *d*) made by the eastern leader's maternal uncle; this emblem he moved to and fro in front of him as though removing obstacles from his path. As soon as the pair had walked past, the pepyé came out of all their retreats and followed behind. All of them had stuck their flat clubs as handles into anajá grass mats of more than a man's height; and they covered their left side with these huge shields so that they themselves remained quite invisible to the villagers, who could see only the itinerant mats headed by the two class leaders.

[285]

After the completed circuit the parade entered the eastern leader's yard, while the wakõ'kama pounced upon a big meat pie offered to them there, each member trying to obtain a piece. In the meantime the novices remained immobile behind the mats, but after the departure of the wakõ'kama they removed their clubs from the mats, which were put on the ground, and sat down on them. The eastern leader

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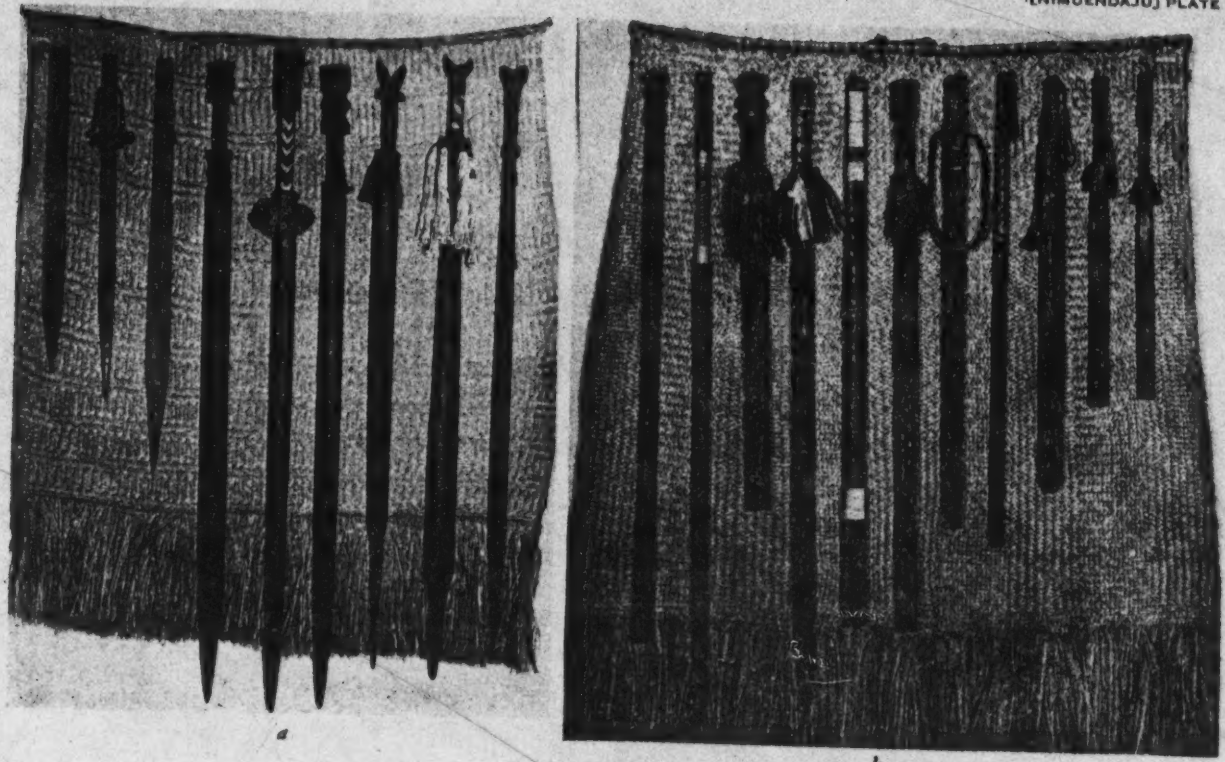

a b

BURITY MATS AND CLUBS

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1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

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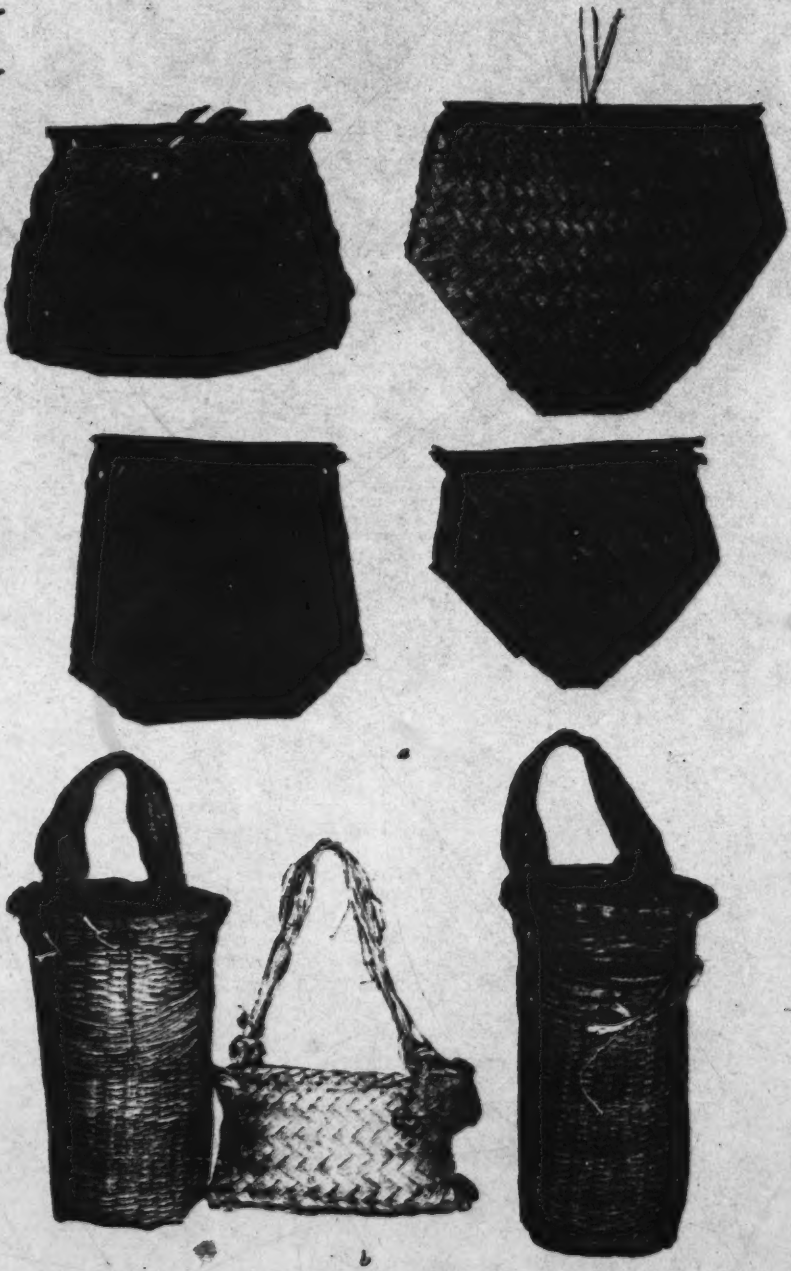

FIRE FANS AND BASKETRY

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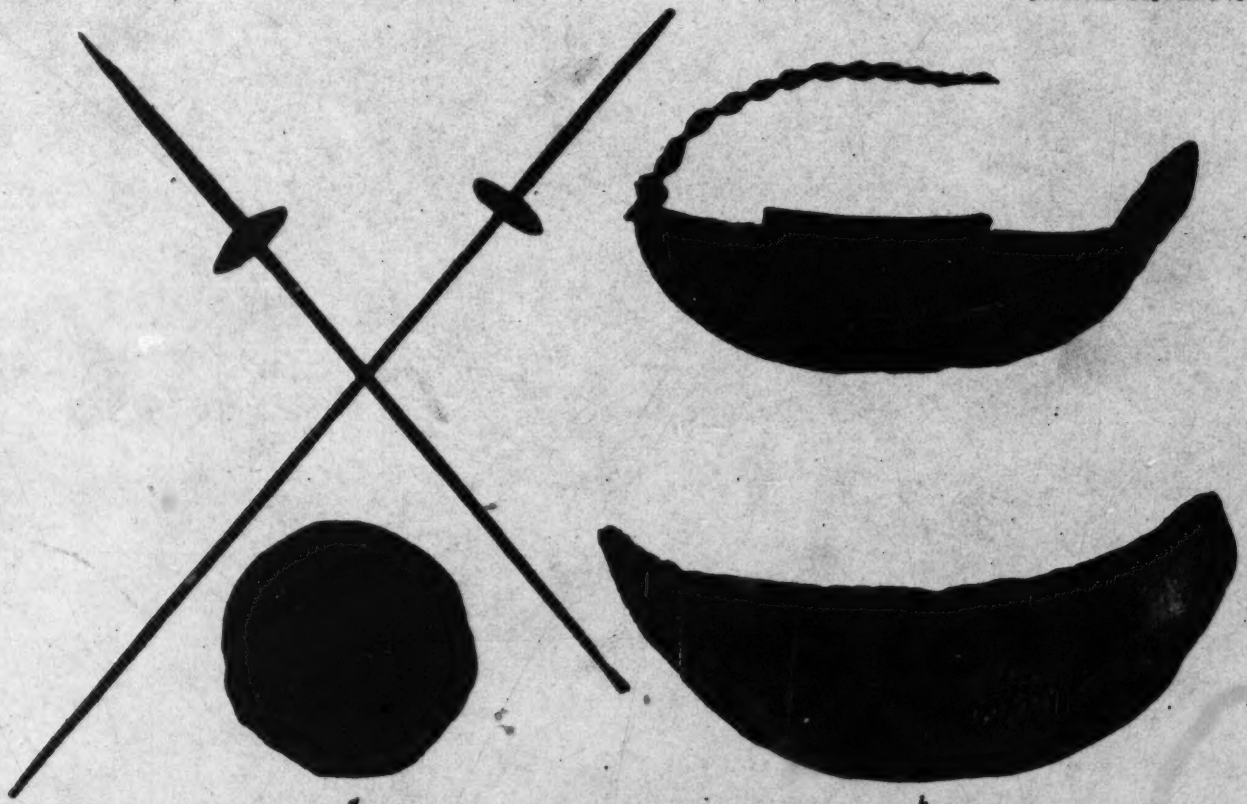

SPINDLES AND YARN ; TROUGH BASKETS

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

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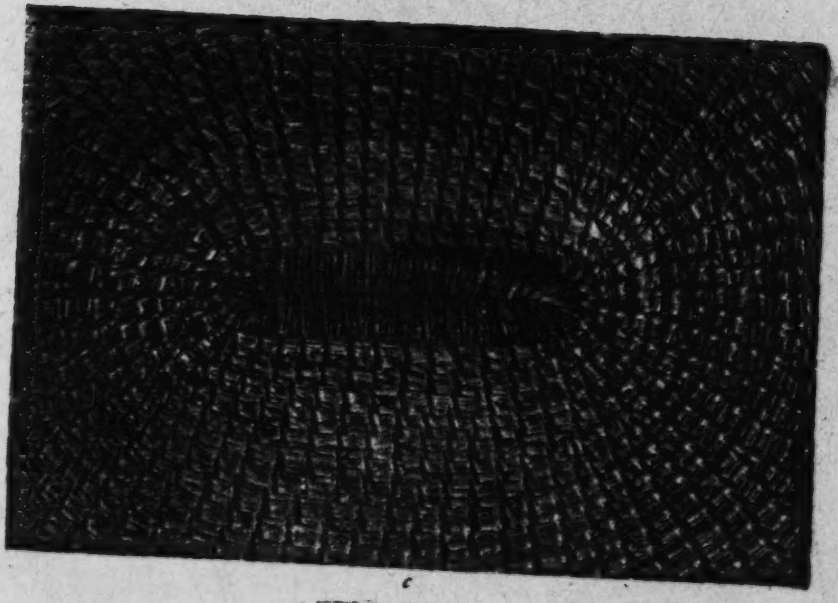

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COILED BASKETRY

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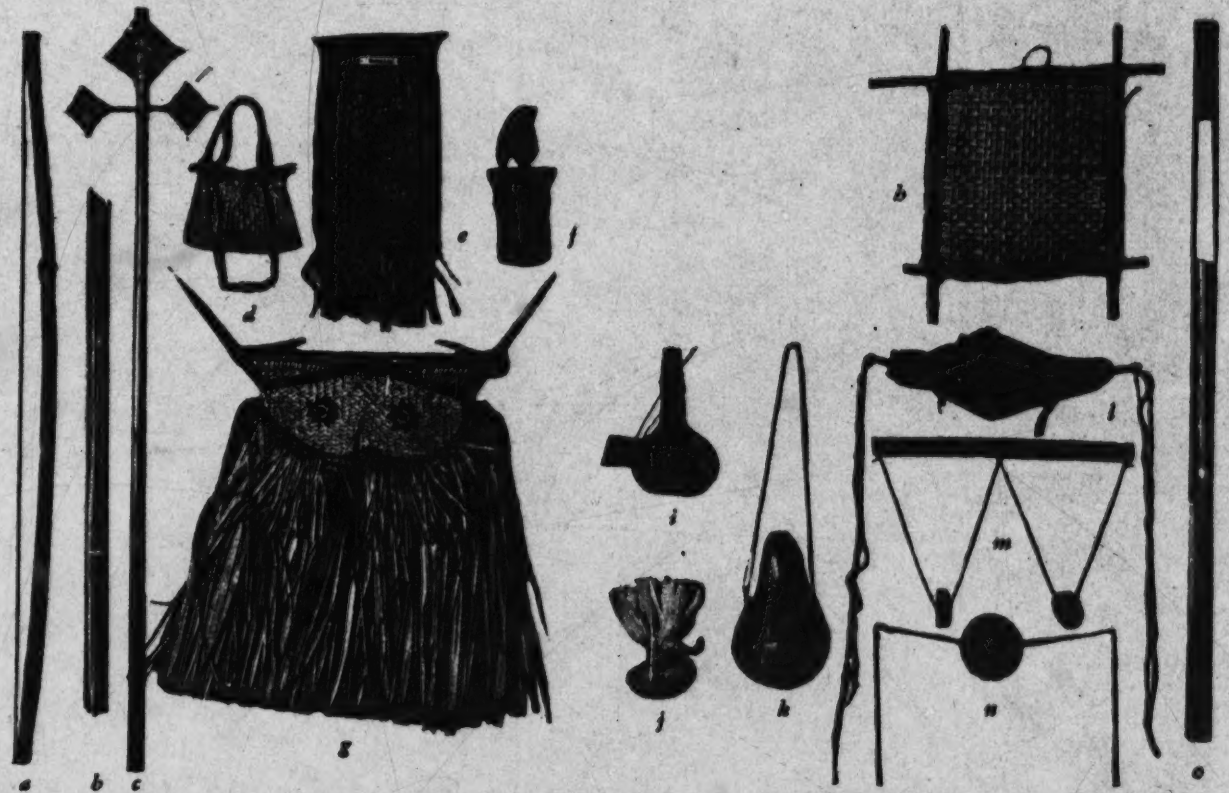

TOYS

Nimuendajú 24 (1883-1960) 1946 308 Timbira 308

/48 cont./
123 upon him by the governor as a badge of his rank -- Surrounded
622 by many curious members of his tribe, he welcomed me with
574 dignified gravity, bade me enter, and ushered me and my servant
352 to the place of honor on his bed, a wooden platform covered with
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The Canella Indian Luiz and his wife Donna.

123 buriti-fiber mats (Port. girao) (2), which stood apart to the right
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2. Pronounce the "g" in "girao" like the French "j."

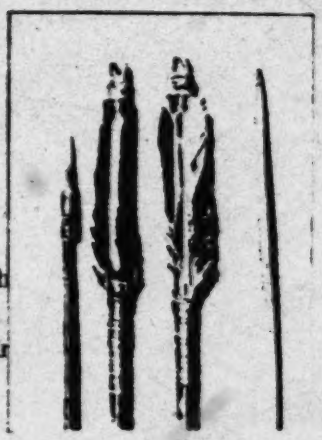
of the entrance.

342 Some minutes were needed to become accustomed to the twilight in the room, which received daylight only through the door and a few gaps in the palm-straw walls.

356 The relatively great cleanliness which prevailed in the hut made a pleasant impression.

/49 cont./

123 521 [411] [237] → The solemn silence which had prevailed at first was soon disrupted by lively chatter. The conversation between me and the chief was interrupted. Every object that I had with me was discussed in detail. I was questioned about their names and use.



Arrow types, opposed feathering. 1/2 nat. size.

From time to time a modest, or usually immodest wish was espressed to possess this or that. Then the conversation faltered again and I gained time to look around a little.

285 My admiration was aroused above all by the extremely well-plaited buriti mats and the different kinds of small baskets and decorated implements with plaiting around them, especially musical instruments and club-like staffs.

123 [142] [535] Unfortunately the pressure of time and an unmistakable mistrust stamped on the faces of my hosts did not permit more detailed notes.

Canella Indians in dance adornment.

126 [343] [252] [593] My wish to obtain photographs met with general understanding to be sure, but encountered such energetic resistance on the part of the wife of the chief, who with a few old women in an adjacent open hut, the kitchen, was devoting herself busily to the making of manioc flour.

/51 cont./

301 pierced and systematically enlarged holes of the ear lobes (3).
304 (Fig. 2, /see p. 15/, 15.)

[171] 3. Compare with this the similarly shaped ear-rolls observed by Karl von den Steinen among the Suyá of the Xingu, made like a tapeline out of the wide leaf-strips of the bacaba palm, with a diameter of 7 centimeters, leaf width 1.5 centimeters. See [113] Durch Zentralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, Leipzig, 1886, p. 207.

301 No. 14. Ear ornament, as before, but of somewhat smaller dimensions. With a circumference of 21 centimeters, the thickness of the ring-shaped ear-disks is 2 centimeters, their diameter 6 centimeters. (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 1.)

[286] No. 15. Woven upper-arm ornament (ipaĉẽ) with woolen tassels. (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 6.)

482 No. 16. Carrying baskets with a square base and a forehead-
285 tumpline plaited out of buriti fibers (4). (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 13.)

[171] 4. An exactly analogous basket model is found among the Kayapó of the Araguaia.

126 /52/The following brief word-list was recorded directly from
174 the Canella Indians and permits one, by comparing it with the
197 corresponding words of Ehrenreich's Gradahõ vocabulary (1) and of
[114]

[113] 1. See Ehrenreich, Materialen zur Sprachenkunde /Linguistic Materials/.

the Mẽkubengokrä word-list recorded by me, to recognize a very close linguistic relationship with the Kayapó tribes of the Araguaia, whose separation from the main body of the Gẽ nation on the other side of the Tocantins may well have taken place in not too far distant times.